THE HISTORY OF LEARNING.

GIVING

A Succinct Account & Narrative

Of the Choicest

New Books:

WITH

A TRANSLATION of what is most Curious and Remarkable in the Foreign Journals.

LICENS'D,
April 19th. 1694.
D. Poplar.

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BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA·

The Preface.

THE Principal Deſign of this Paper, is, beſides ſome Abſtracts of our own, To give you, *A* Tranſlation *of the* Narratives *of the Choiceſt New Books in* Europe, as they are Epitomized in the Forreign Journals: Hereby you will have a General and Succinct View of the Learning and Studies of the moſt Refined Writers, in the ſeveral Languages, Countries, and Sciences repreſenting in a ſhort Draught, the State of Learning in the World, as that of a Town or Country is by a Map or Proſpect; And ſuch a Guide or *Index*, ſeems to be as neceſſary to direct our Courſe in the World of Books and Learning, as the Mariner's Compaſs is for him to ſteer his Courſe by in the midſt of the vaſt Ocean; and if the Reader reaps not the Benefit and Advantage that might reaſonably be expected from the preſent Undertaking, he muſt attribute it onely to the Authors

want of Skil and Ability to manage rightly ſo uſeful a deſign.

But it is not our Intention, either to play the Herald, in proclaiming the Praiſes which ſuch a Collection might juſtly merit, nor yet the Apologiſt for our own Performance. The uſe thereof is obvious to all, ſeeing it may be ſerviceable to the beſt Libraries, as a direction for the Choice of Books; and in ſome meaſure to the meaneſt, by ſupplying, in part, the defects thereof. And ſeeing the Papers from which this Draught is chiefly deſigned to be made, have found ſuch general Approbation in Forreign Parts, we thought a Collection of the moſt Curious Matters contained in them, would not be unacceptable to our *Engliſh* Nation, which we intend to continue by a frequent Publication, if it may be found Serviceable to the Common-wealth of Letters.

THE

The Hiſtory of Learning.

Numb. 1.

Tueſday *May* 1. 1694.

La Vie de Mr. *Deſcartes* 1. & 2. Partie, à *Paris* chez *Daniel Hortemels*, 1691. in 4. pagg. 476 & 601. La même, 1693. in 12. pagg. 318. & ſe trouve a *Rotterdam* chez *Reinier Leers*.

i. e.

The LIFE of Mr. Deſcartes, 1. & 2. *Part.*

Tranſlated out of the *Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Scavans.*

MR. *Deſcaretes* hath made too great a Figure amongſt modern Philoſophers, for to want an Hiſtorian after his death. 'Tis true, that the Life of a Philoſopher conſiſts principally in thoughts and opinions, which we muſt only look for in his Books: But it doth not paſs wholly in meditations. It is convenient to know how Philoſophy hath governed mans Life, and what influence it hath had upon his private actions. We repreſent to our ſelves commonly under the title of a Philoſopher, a grave Perſon, and one always occupied in ſerious reflections. Or according to *Lucian*, he that will obtain that title muſt have a ſour Countenance, a barbarous Mein, and ſavage Manners. He muſt exclaim againſt all the world, find fault with every thing, and live in Society as tho' he was in a Wilderneſs. Mr. *Deſcartes* way of living was not drawn according to this model, and he did not affect ſo great an auſterity. He profeſſed a milder ſort of Wiſdom, and more conformable to our nature and occaſions. Mr. *Baillet* repreſents him as ſuch: And as he hath forgot nothing that may advance his reputation, ſo he diſguiſeth not his defects; being perſwaded that there are always marks of Force and Grandeur even in the weakneſſes of great geniuſes.

Seeing

Seeing it is essential to History, I must repeat what all the world knows, to wit, that Mr. *Descartes* was born in *Touraine* in 1596. His Father was Counceller of the Parliament of *Britain*. He brought to his Studies a violent passion to learn, and a noble emulation to exceed his competitors. Although he left betimes the trifles & ornaments of Learning, he loved Humanities, & was not insensible of the delicacies & sweetnesses of Poesie. He had not lost this relish when he went into *Sweden*; for he made a Comedy for the divertisement of the Queen. He used to say, that the reading of good Books was a conversation with the best men of the former Ages, but an elaborate conversation, wherein they discovered to us their best thoughts. When he was entered into the School of Philosophy, he would have distinct notions of every thing that was proposed to him. When an Argument was proposed, he demanded first the true definition of the terms, and the explication of certain common principles which were not very well understood. This discussion perplext his Master very much, who was not used to give a reason for every thing, and with whom the empty flourish of a distinction was an infallible refuge in the greatest extremities. He hath affirmed since, that he had never thought of finding a new way, if he had not observed, that after so many Ages wherein Philosophy hath been so much improved, men dispute still concerning every thing, and are agreed about nothing. He Judged thereby that there are doubts and uncertainties in every thing, and that by consequence it is better to apply our selves to the search of truth, as yet obscure and unknown, than to hold servilely to the opinions of another, and submit to the conduct of a guide who is uncertain himself what way he must take.

Mr. *Descartes*, that he might know the world the better, bore Armes under Prince *Maurice* in *Holland*, which was become then the School of the art of War. He was also at the Battle of * *Prague*, and a witness of the victory of the Duke of *Bavaria*, Head of the Catholick League against *Frederick* 5th. Elector *Palatine*, who was elected King of *Bohemia*. Mr. *Descartes* his Campagnes, were rather voyages than military functions. He had not been a Soldier, but that he might thereby have an opportunity of studying mens manners more exactly: He lived like them, who being free from imploy, think only of leading a peaceable and innocent Life, and who study to separate Vice from Pleasures. After having lived some years this turbulent sort of life, he returned to *Paris*, where his merit drew an importunate throng after him; and he tells us himself, that from this time the Booksellers (who aim onely at trafficking with the reputation of Authors) joyned themselves with them who besieged him continually, and perswaded him to take his Pen in hand. Thus his reputation became burthensome to him who loved a retreat and solitude: That which happened in a publick conference doubled the importunities of the curious. Mr. *Chandoux* proposed a new System of Philosophy in a great Assembly, which was very much applauded. Mr. *Descartes* was the only person that refused his approbation. He only praised the freedom of Mr. *Chandoux*, who attempted to rescue Philosophy from the vexation of the Schoolmen: But with a tone a little suspected, and an air too cold, to cause his being pressed to explain himself any further. Then he shewed the power of probability which so often passeth in the stead of truth, and which had overcome

* In 1620.

the

the judgment of the Assembly, where that which was false had passed for true by reason of its resemblance. Whereupon he bad them propound to him a most incontestable truth; which being done, he by Twelve Arguments, each more probable than the other, proved it to be false. Then they chose a most evident Falshood, and he brought his Auditors to acknowledge it for a plausible truth. From whence he concluded, that our mind is easily deceived by probability. *Chrysippus* the Philosopher boasts in *Lucian*, that it was his profession to make Nets to catch men; by Nets he meant Syllogisms and Sophisms. What we have related, justifies the expression of *Chrysippus*.

The multitude of visits which daily hindred Mr. *Descartes* his business, constrained him to seek for a Residence where he might be freed from unprofitable Honours, which distracted his mind and attention. He was not * yet absolutely determined to what condition to betake himself, therefore he reviewed the different employs which share men betwixt them. The result of his reflections, weighed in the Balance of Reason, was not to subject himself to any one, and to remain Master of himself. He found in himself a natural repugnance for engagements which might rob him of his Liberty; and resolved henceforth never to think of any thing, but to improve his understanding and judgment. His first maxime of morality, was to be Master of his desires, and his own thoughts. He held that to be the Capital maxime of the antient Philosophers, who knew how to rescue themselves from the power of fortune, and even in the midst of misery and afflictions, to vie felicity with the Gods. After having long deliberated, he chose † *Holland* for his residence: He gave this Reason of it to his Friends, that he had chosen a Country where there was left the most remains of the Innocence of our Ancestors, and where one might be as solitary as in Desarts, in the midst of a numerous People, more devoted to their interests, than curious about other mens matters. But it was not by reason of any melancholy and inhospitable humour, that he avoided the society of men. He loved the company of honest men, and sought their esteem eagerly enough: But the number of sotts, who thrust themselves in amongst the others, were the cause of his vexation and impatience; and he had rather withdraw himself, than be troubled with their tiresome conversations.

* In 1625.

† In 1629.

During his repose in *Holland*, he composed his Treatise of the world. He was about reviewing of it, when he heard of the accident that had happened to *Gallileus*. This famous Mathematician, thinking himself secure from the Inquisition under the protection of the Duke of *Tuscany*, took the liberty to publish his opinion of the daily motion of the Earth. He was accused to the H. Office, and the Delegates judged his opinion not only absurd and false in Physosophy, but also erroneous in the Faith, and contrary to the Scripture. The Holy Congregation, to shew the respect they had for his Person, sent Cardinal *Bellarmine* to him, to exhort him to renounce his Systeme; He promised to obey, but the Astrologers, who were not under the yoak and constraint of the Inquisition, laught so much at the weakness of *Gallileus*, and the decision of the Inquisitors (too little skill'd in Philosophy, to pronounce infallibly in such a matter) that he was ashamed of his submission. Yet not to break the decree directly, he composed a Dialogue between *Ptolomy* and *Copernicus*. He makes *Copernicus* speak

ſpeak therein too ſtrongly for the repoſe of the Sun, and the motion of the Earth, to deceive the Inquiſitors, who eaſily diſcovered his craft. So he was * ſhut up in the Priſons of the Inquiſition, and afterwards declared † attaint and convicted of Hereſy. He was then forced to abjure his pretended Hereſy, and had a Pennance impoſed on him to expiate the crime of his relapſe into error. Mr. *Deſcartes* was very much ſurprized at this diſgrace of *Gallileus*; and Mr. *Baillet*, who makes him almoſt a St. repreſents him as ready to ſuppreſs his Treatiſe of the world (the foundation of which was the motion of the Earth) rather than contradict in any thing the Authority of the Church, nor even ſo much as to diſpute her right to determine a point which had no great relation to her juriſdiction. He was not minded to make uſe of that exception, *Extra territorium jus dicenti, impune non paretur.* He readily foreſaw, that that Cenſure would have the ſame fate, with that of Pope *Zachary*, which condemned *Virgile* Biſhop of *Saltzburg*, for maintaining that there were Antipodes. In the mean while he kept his Book private, and whether it was through ſcruple, as Mr. *Baillet* pretends, or whether it was through Policy, he durſt not irritate the Inquiſition. Others, to whom the ſentence of the Inquiſition was not ſo dreadful, run the hazard of it. He with all his caution changed not his opinion in the matter, and publiſhed it afterwards with ſome qualifications, to avoid the Accuſation of Hereſy, which he was ſo apprehenſive of. Therefore he began with other Treatiſes: His *Diſcours de la Methode pour bien conduire ſa raiſon, et chercher la verité dans les ſciences*, &c. is the firſt piece which he expoſed to the publick; he was 40 years old before he became an Author.

His favorite-piece was his *Meditations Metaphyſiques*. He Dedicated them to the Mrs. of the *Sorbonne*, to engage them on his ſide, and that it might ſerve him as a tacite approbation. He had a paternal affection for this production; and was ſo prepoſſeſſed with an opinion that it was an accompliſhed piece, that he attributed the diſadvantageous judgment his Cenſurers gave of it to their want of Underſtanding, or the ill diſpoſition of his Readers. He could not forbare owning the good opinion he had of it, and pretended to have advanced nothing but what was demonſtrated with more evidence, than Geometrical demonſtrations. If ſome (ſaith he) cannot underſtand it, it is becauſe I cannot give a capacity to all the world, nor procure mens attention by force, which rejects things that require a profound meditation. He had a deſign to compriſe in this Book all the ſubſtance of his opinions, and to inſert therein all the principles which lead to true Philoſophy. The principal conſiſts in ſhewing the difference betwixt the Soul and Body. The ignorance thereof hath been the cauſe of abundance of falſe Reaſonings. It hath been the original of the Pagans extravagance concerning their Gods; and is yet the retrenchment of the Libertines. For if it be true, that matter ſo and ſo diſpoſed and modified in animals, be capable of chooſing and reaſoning, nothing can prove that the ſame thing may not happen in man. All the difference will conſiſt in the conſtruction of the Organs either more fine or delicate, or in the different poſition of the Springs which compoſe the machine. But by the way Mr. *Deſcartes* hath taken, to wit, in ſhewing that the propriety of the Soul incommunicably to the Body, is *to think*; and that the Body diſpoſed or ſubtilized as you pleaſe, cannot form an Argument;

* In 1633.

† Quamvis hypotheticè illam a ſe proponi ſimularet.

gument; one will not be deceived in the nature of the Soul, nor frame ſuch groſs Idæas of the Deity. He ſought every where for Objections, and ſolicited his Friends to find him Adverſaries; not ſo much out of a deſign to aſſure himſelf by their contradiction that he was not miſtaken, as to have the pleaſure to diſcover more clearly the ſolidity of his Metaphyſicks: I need not relate how many ſtorms were raiſed againſt him upon this occaſion, nor to make a melancholly recital of all the Troubles which have diſturbed that Contemplative Life, which he preferred to the Noiſe of the World. We have ſpoke thereof already; and moreover, all this is too well known, to ſtand in need of reciting things over again, which have but little reference to the Publick.

The Troubles that were raiſed againſt him, were not yet wholly appeaſed,& he ſcarcely began to ſtudy quietly in his ſedate reſidence at * *Egmont*, when he was † invited by the Queen of *Sweden*. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſolicited for ſome time, out of an apprehenſion that his body would not bear the rigour of ſo *Northern* a Climate. His preſages were but too true; he dyed * in *Sweden* four months after his arrival. The Queen honoured him with her ſorrow and tears: Mr. *Baillet* beſtows a whole Book in giving us Mr. *Deſcartes* Character; he doth it with an admirable exactneſs, forgetting nothing: We ſhall onely ſpeak of the Qualities of his mind. Mr. *Deſcartes*, according to Mr. *Baillet*, was of Opinion, That when a man ſeeks for Reputation, he proſtitutes his Liberty; and that, the more a man ſeeks to gain the eſteem of others, the more he ceaſeth to be Maſter of himſelf: Therefore he took up this Deviſe, *Bene qui latuit, bene vixit*; or that Sentence of the Epicureans, *Cache ta Vie*, Keep thy Life private: He gave as a Reaſon for it, this Sentence of *Seneca*;

* *In* North-Holland.
† In 1649.
* In 1650.

Illi Mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur ſibi.

A man relinquiſheth himſelf too much, when he ſtrives ſo much to live in the imagination of others. In the mean while *Plutarch* in a Diſcourſe made on purpoſe, hath diverted himſelf a little with the Maxim of *Epicurus*: *If thou will conceal thy ſelf*, (ſaith he, addreſſing himſelf to *Epicurus*) *Why doſt thou diſperſe thy Books in all Places? Why doſt thou draw theſe Aſſemblies of Scholars after thee? Why doſt not thou condemn thy ſelf to ſilence? And why doſt thou not put thy Epitaph upon thy Gate, that none may go about to trouble the repoſe of thy Tomb? If thou haſt lived ill, thou wouldſt do well not to ſhew thy ſelf: The puniſhment of wicked men is the total abolition of their Memory, and that their Actions lye buryed in Oblivion, and an Eternal Obſcurity: As for good men, they ought never to ſhun the Light, they owe to the Publick the Uſe and Benefit of their great Qualities, and the Example of their good Actions.* Mr. *Deſcartes* practiſed not this Maxime in the ill ſence, wherein *Plutarch* reproves it: He ſought not Obſcurity that he might be ſeen of no body, and did not pretend to withdraw himſelf abſolutely from the view of mankind. It is true nevertheleſs, that if the love of Solitude had not made him ſavage, the frequency of Meditation had made him a little ſad and reſerved: His Converſation was plain, and nothing haughty: When he was obliged to ſpeak

upon any point of Philosophy, he began always with his preamble, concerning the precipitation wherewith men ordinarily judge concerning matters. The Enemies of Mr. *Descartes* all agree to Accuse him of Vanity, and to reproach him for aspiring to the Glory of becoming the Head of a Sect. Mr. *Baillet* doth not much trouble himself, to justifie him from a failing, which is so common to all those whose merit distinguisheth them from the common Herd of mankind. He adds nevertheless, that his sincerity was misinterpreted for presumption and pride. He explained himself too sincerely concerning the disdain he had for some things, which others admired; and he affirmed, that to have a sufficient number of Approbators, we must speak according to the vulgar Opinion, and not against it. But a man by opposing himself against the torrent of Opinions, is look'd upon as proud and presumptuous. It is urged also as a Proof of his Moderation, that he had an indifference for the Title of Learned, to which he might pretend, together with the modesty of his doubts.

Mr. *Descartes* is much more exclaimed against in reference to Religion. 'Tis here that the Divines attack him most violently: And this Suspicion is spread even amongst his Followers. Mr. *Baillet* clears him fully; for he saith, that no man was ever more respectful towards the Deity, or spake of Religion with more Circumspection and Care. He was very serious in respect to the Mysteries of Religion: Besides, his having an aversion for the troublesome Disputes and Contentions, wherewith Religion was encumbred, he thought men determined too boldly what was possible or impossible to God, as though our understanding could be of as large an extent as the Almighty Power of God. *I dare not Argue*, saith he, *that God cannot make Two and Three not to be Five: I say onely, that he hath given me such a Nature, that I cannot conceive otherwise than that Two and Three must make Five*: There can be nothing more circumspect. Mr. *Baillet* is of Opinion, that he is Accus'd of Atheism, only because he Confutes Atheism but weakly, as the Divines think. They conclude thence, that it was but a Feint to propose their Objections safely, and shew that it is not easie to convince them: So at the most he is but to be reproached with having but meanly Confuted Atheists, instead of seeking Artifice in the weakness of his Arguments, which he took for demonstrations. The suspition was best founded upon his excluding of Reason from discerning the Scriptures. On the one side, he was perswaded that none is so much affected with things which are discovered to us onely by Faith, & which our Reason cannot attain to, as they are with those which are discovered to us by clear Natural Reasons: And on the other, he held, That *it is by the Divine Grace, or by an inward Light, wherewith God enlightens us, that we believe Matters of Religion.* Now this Recourse to internal Grace, for a decisive Proof of the Divinity of the Scriptures, in a man accustomed to Reason, even to the highest degree, is a tacite Confession of the want of Proofs, and a Refuge to avoid being convicted of Infidelity. However it be, Mr. *Baillet* endeavours to purge him from the least stain of Atheism or Incredulity; and he hath even taken care to prove by Attestations in Form, that he acquitted himself exactly of all the Duties of Religion, like an Humble Catholick, and Pious, even to a tittle.

Before I Conclude upon this Head, it is convenient to take a short View of two Treatises which attack this work of Mr. *Baillet*'s, the one is Intituled, *Nouveaux Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Cartesianisme, à Utrecht, chez Guill. van de Water*, 1699. *in* 12. *pag.* 102. He feigns therein, That Mr. *Descartes* not pleased with the unfavourable reception of the Queen of *Sweden*, and weary of seeing himself murdered with Problems and Objections, and forced to sustain the troublesome quality of Oracle of Mankind, pretended to dye, that he might withdraw from the World, and confine himself in *Lapland*. We doe hereby our Author is upon the pleasant pin: He fails not to observe some Over-sights of Mr. *Descartes*: The other Piece is a little more serious, being Entituled, *Reflexions d'un Academicien sur la Vie de Mr. Descartes, envoyées à un de ses amis en Hollande: A la Haye, chez* Arnoult Leers, 1692. *in* 12 *pag.* 180. i. e. *Reflections of an Academick upon the Life of Mr.* Decartes, &c. The Author falls immediately upon the Trifles wherewith Mr. *Baillet* hath swelled his Book: For Example, he laughs at the exactness of Mr. *Baillet*, in observing that Mr. *Descartes, being of a low Stature, carried the Plume, the Belt, and the Sword, and wore green Taffety.* And that he had *an Affection for Squint-ey'd Women.* He shews that this Description of his *Heroe*, and this Fantastical Inclination might have been wisely concealed, for fear of making his Readers Sport. The Reprimand for the frequent Digressions which swell Mr. *Baillet*'s History, is more grave: For what Advantage is it to speak of all the Potentates of *Europe*? It might have been sufficient to shew the Estate wherein Phylosophy was at the time wherein this extraordinary Man appeared in the World, who was to instruct mankind, and discover the most secret Springs of Nature. but seeing he made no Alteration in Political Government, nor the State of Mankind, there was no necessity of going out of his way, to relate all the Accidents which happened in Mr. *Descartes*'s Time, who had no other share in them, than onely by Hear-say, or as a simple Spectator. This is to write the History of the Times and not of Mr. *Descartes*, whose private Life is swallowed up with so many Accidents, which do not at all concern it, and which carrys the Reader quite off from the Matter in hand. Frequently Mr. *Baillet*, after having placed Mr. *Descartes* somewhere, leaves him there for to make long Historical Excursions, and wanders through all Countries for to give a relation of them; and then afterwards he takes up Mr. *Descartes* again where he had left him. Our *Heroe* is in a manner forgotten, whilst he is but the distant Occasion of so many Narrations huddled together, wherein he makes no Figure. It had been much better then, to have employed all his Art in giving a Lively and Clear Explication of Mr. *Descartes*'s System, that the pleasure of History might have been joyned with the Utility of Instruction: By this means reading the Life of the Philosopher, would have taught a true Philosophy. Regular and Geometrical Genius's would have been mightily pleased with that marvellous Order and Concatenation of Principles and Consequences, which made a *Cartesian* say, That God had not given more Order to the grosly Fabrick of the World, than there was in Mr. *Descartes*'s Thoughts. We willingly pass over the magnificent Titles he hath collected for, *Father of the Universe*,

verſe, *Confident of Nature*, or *Demi-god* (as the Pilot of Queen *Chriſtina* called him) wherewith Mr. *Deſcartes* hath been honoured. Theſe figurative expreſſions, ſhew the opinion men had of him; but he deſcends to particulars, which this Author has ſo maliciouſly collected together, that one can ſcarcely forbare laughing at them as he does. He finds faults even from the beginning to the inventory of Mr. *Deſcartes* his goods, movable and immovable, which Mr. *Baillet* hath made after his death: He lays about him ſtoutly with his aires of pleaſantry, and rejoyceth mightily at the rout which he conceives he hath put Mr. *Baillet* to.

Memoires de la vie de *Friederic Maurice* de la Tour D' Auvergne, Duc *de Bouillon*. Souvereign de *Sedan*. Avec quelques particularitez de la vie & des mœurs de *Henri de la Tour* D' Auvergne, Vicomte *de Turrenne*. Suivant la Copie de *Paris*. A *Amſterdam*, chez *Adrian Braekman*, Marchand Libraire dans le *Beurs-ſtraat* by den Dam, 1693. in 12.

i. e.

Memoires of the Life of Frederick Maurice *de la Tour D' Auvergne, Duke of* Bouillon *Sovereign of* Sedan. *With ſome particulars of the Life and Actions of* Henry de la Tour D' Auvergne, *Vicomte de* Turenne. *At* Amſterdam, 1693. *in* 12.

THIS ſhort Hiſtory of the Duke of *Bouillon* comprehends alſo the Hiſtory of the Court of *France*, wherein he lived, and the various intrigues of State in his time, wherein he bore a principal part. So that it is not to be looked upon only as the Hiſtory of a Private Perſon, but alſo of the Councels and Affairs of one of the greateſt States in Europe. 'Tis writ by the Baron *de Saumiers* Secretary of the Kings

Kings Cabinet, and was found amongſt his papers after his death: 'Tis not collected from common Reports and uncertain Memoires, but from the Authors one knowledge, and information from the perſons concerned, he being acquainted with the Councels, and Springs which gave motion to the Actions he relates, which whoever knows not, is but a lame Hiſtorian. He who is a ſtranger to what is tranſacted in the Cabinet, and ſees only what is done in the Field and appears above board, muſt needs make a very imperfect relation, and leave his reader in the dark; whereas they who unravel the Councels and Springs, by which publick actions are moved and governed, do not only repreſent the ſhew, but lead us behind the Curtain, and give us a perfect knowledg and inſight into the whole matter. The Cauſes therefore and Councels that give life to publick Actions, give both light and life to the Relations and Hiſtories of them. This therefore is one principal ornament of this ſmall Hiſtory, to which I may add another, that being writ by a Stateſman, and one skilled in the Cabinet, he gives you very Grave and Politick remarks and obſervations upon affairs, ſo that the reader may not only pleaſe his fancy with the novelty and variety of events; but alſo inform his Judgment and Underſtanding at the ſame time, and grow wiſer and better by prudently remarking, and carefully avoiding other mens faults and failings: But not to detain the reader with a recommendation of the Hiſtory, we ſhall give him a brief Abſtract and Epitome of it.

He relates but little of his Infancy, to which he was a ſtrnger: The place of his Studies was *Sedan*, and his Tutor *du Moulin* a Proteſtant Miniſter. He was Educated in the reformed Religion, of which his Parents made profeſſion; his firſt Salley was into *Holland*, at the Age of Sixteen years, which was then the Seat of War, and beſt School for learning the Art thereof. He made his entrance into the Military profeſſion, under the Conduct of his Uncle the Prince of *Orange*; he anſwered ſo well the Care that was taken of him, that he ſoon made himſelf remarkable, which hapned at the Seige of *Boiſleduc*, after this manner: The Prince of *Orange* having layn long before the Town, his Army was ſo fatigued and weakned, that ſuccors being prepared for the relief thereof, he lookt upon himſelf as unable to hinder their entrance, and a reſolution was privately taken at a Council of War, to raiſe the Seige. The Duke of *Boüillon* being informed of it, asked leave to go and oppoſe the ſuccors that were comming to their releif; he gave ſo good an account of his project to the Prince of *Orange*, that it was approved of, and he had the men he demanded, and Attacqued the Convoy, Defeated it, and took their Commander Priſoner, and brought the Convoy into the Camp. This gained him a great Reputation, for the Town was ſoon after ſurrendered, and he in reward thereof was made Governour of *Maeſtricht*. The Prince of *Orange* was well pleaſed with his Promotion, and deſigned him for his ſon-in-law: But he going ſoon after Incognito to *Bruxels* at the Carnaval, he ſaw there Madam *de Bergh* his kinſwoman, and falling paſſionately in love with her, he ſoon after returned to *Bruxels*, where the Marriage was concluded, but without the approbation of Madam his Mother, who did not like that her Son ſhould

Marry a Papist. This was followed not long after by his own profession of the Catholick Religion, and in the mean time the *Spaniards* Besieged *Maestricht*: Into which the Duke of *Bouillon* cast himself, and defended it, till the Prince of *Orange* came with an Army to his relief. Having made a publick Profession of the Romish Religion, he resolved to follow the Court of *France*, where Cardinal *Richlieu* was then prime Minister; he governed things absolutely under the King, who yet privately hated him; but his great abilities and successes made him necessary for that Station: he hated all that did not depend absolutely on himself, and the Duke not being born for slavery, returned soon after to *Sedan*, whither the Count of *Soissons* retired presently after, as to a place of refuge & shelter from the hatred and Tyranny of the Cardinal. The Duke gave him Entertainment, and things coming soon after to a Rupture, betwixt him and the Court of *France*, he engaged in this young Princes quarrel; they prepared for War, and made a Treaty with the *Emperour* and *Spaniards*, wherein the *Emperour* promised to assist them with *Seven Thousand* men, and the *Arch-Duke* for the *Spaniards* with the same number, which were to be sent towards *Sedan* in *June*; the *Spaniards* promised also *Two Hundered Thousand* Crowns, but sent only a part of the Moneys and none of the Troops; but the *Emperour* sent General *Lamboy* with *Seven Thousand* men; and in the mean time the Marshal *de Chatillon* the *French* General took the Field, and advanced towards *Sedan*; the Duke seeing him approach, sent to General *Lamboy* to hasten his passing the *Meuse*, and joyning of him. The Count remained wavering and uncertain what to do, but the Armies approaching near each other, the Battle begun; the Marshal *de Chatillon* being a Valiant General, but very negligent, conceived that *Lamboy* was still beyond the *Meuse*, and advanced with a design to oppose his passage, but met with the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was advanced before with a good Body of Cavalry, and *Lamboy* followed with the Infanty and Cannon, as did *Monsieur* the Count with his Troops. The Duke of *Bouillon* with his Cavalry charged the Enemy, and broke them, driving them foul upon the Infantry, and thereby put all into disorder. Things succeeded well where *Lamboy* Commanded, who fought like a Brave General and man of Courage; the greatest resistance was at the Cannon, which the Duke of *Bouillon* Attacqued with great hazard of his Life: After he had taken them and dispersed the Troops which he found there, the Enemy Rallyed no more: Whereupon the Duke of *Bouillon* being near the place where *Monsieur* the Count was, went himself to assure him of the victory, but found the Count dead.

He lost his life without fighting, and after the Victory, being Incompassed with his own Gaurds, and yet none knew certainly how he came by his death. Our Author thinks, (after having learnt what he could from those who were near him) that he killed himself; and that was the opinion of the Duke of *Bouillon*; for its certain that he lifted up the vizer of his Helmet twice with the end of his Pistol; and that *Riquemont* his Esquire, informed him of the danger of it; its certain also, that the shot he received was in the middle of his forehead; and discharged so near him, that the paper went into his head, and it happning so, that none had

had their eyes upon him at that time; the ſhame and deſpair of thoſe that were near him, and eſpecially their prejudice againſt the Cardinal, made them ſay, that it was he who cauſed him to be Aſſaſſinated by a Traytor, who had ſlipped in amongſt his Gaurds. It is eaſie to gueſs the ſurprize and ſorrow that ſeized the Duke when he found the Count dead, but he ſoon returned to keep his Troops from diſorder by plunder, that he might aſſure the Victory, which was ſo entire, that the Marſhal *de Chatillon* loſt all his Infantry, and almoſt all the principal Officers of the Army were either killed or taken priſoners.

After the Battle, the Duke and *Lamboy* beſieged *Doncheri*, a place upon the *Mauſe*, a League from *Sedan*, which they carried in four days; *Lamboy* could not be prevailed with to proceed any further, but ſtaying ſome time to refreſh his Troops, he afterwards went to joyn the Cardinal *Infanta*, who marched to the Relief of *Aire*, the Duke finding *Lamboy* Retreated, and the *Spaniards* failing in the perſormance of their Treaty, ſo that he was left alone, with his own Forces, and the Marſhal *de Breze* having joyned the Marſhal *de Chatillon* at the head of his Army, the Duke of *Bouillon* accepted of a place that was offerd him; in the management whereof *Cinqmars* Grand Eſq; of *France*, who was a Favorite of the Kings, and in no good terms with the Cardinal, did the Duke ſome offices of kindneſs, and ſought his friendſhip: After the Peace, the Duke went to *Mezieres* to wait upon the King, where he was very kindly received, and the Cardinal made him great complements; but the more ſhew of kindneſs the Cardinal made, the more his ſincerity was ſuſpected by the Duke.

The King returned to *Paris*, and the Duke ſtayed at *Sedan*, being undetermined what reſolution to take; to continue at *Sedan*, was to render himſelf ſuſpected to *France*, to expoſe himſelf to new dangers, and ſhut up the way to his Glory and Advancement. He could expect nothing from the King of *Spain* and *Emperour*, who had ſo lately abandoned him; and to go to Court where the Cardinal was ſo Powerful, he ſaw very unſafe, for he had offended the Cardinal too much to hope for an intire reconciliation: He was in great perplexity how to determine and fix his reſolution, but thought it better to chuſe the worſt part, than none at all; and in fine, reſolved to go to Court.

He found it at *Neſle* in *Piccardy*, *de Thou* met him on the way, and *Cinqmars* waited upon him at his arrival; *de Thou* uſed all his endeavours to cultivate the friendſhip he had begun, between the Duke *de Bouillon* and *Cinqmars*: He was very much offended with the Cardinal for refuſing him a Poſt in the Army which he deſired, therefore he reſolved to omit nothing which might contribute to his ruine. He apprehended that the Cardinals Power diminiſhed, and that the favour of *Cinqmars* encreaſed daily; he deſired the Duke of *Bouillon* to diſcourſe in private with *Cinqmars*, but the Duke anſwered, that it was very dangerous to give the leaſt ſuſpicion of any private and particular converſation, and deſired him to divert *Cinqmars*; and told *de Thou*, as a friend, that he was willing to live in good correſpondence with *Cinqmars*, and make ſuitable Returns to the Advances he made, and the good offices he received from him, but that he was no

ways

ways inclined to embarque in his Intereſts, or embarraſs himſelf anew. *De Thou* promiſed to work things ſo with *Cinqmars*, that his good diſpoſitions ſhould not be changed: And *Cinqmars* meeting the Duke at Court ſome time after, told him, that he deſired nothing more than his amity, but that he had ordered *de Thou* to aſſure him, that he would not deſire it, till after he had merited it by ſome ſignal ſervice. To which the Duke of *Bouillon* anſwered by a complement, *and referred the reſt to* de Thou.

The Duke left the Court at *Neſle*, and went to *Paris*; at his taking leave of *Cinqmars*, he was told by him (after Reiterated proteſtations of his friendſhip) that if any thing hapned worthy his knowledge, he would give him an account of it by *de Thou*. Thus they parted in good correſpondence together, but without any particular engagement.

Cinqmars was very handſome in his Perſon, Courageous, of a great Mind, Bold and Capable of great Enterprizes, and of managing them with great Skill and Dexterity; but not being above Twenty one Years of Age, he was without Experience, Ungovernable and Preſumptious, faults commonly inſeparable from Youth and Riches. He could never vanquiſh the hatred he had for the Cardinal; if he could but have moderated his paſſion, even in the Kings preſence, there was nothing he might not have aſpited to, conſidering his Maſters paſſionate love for him, and the Age and Infirmities of the Cardinal.

The Cardinal at firſt took care of the Conduct of *Cinqmars*, and had in ſome meaſure promoted his fortune by his friendſhip towards the Marſhal *de Fiat* his father.

At the return from the Progreſs into *Picardy*, *Cinqmars* demanded to be admitted into the Council; he thought the Cardinal would not oppoſe it, becauſe he knew the King acquainted him even with the moſt ſecret and important matters: but when the King propoſed it to the Cardinal, he replyed, that it was enough to diſcredit their Councils amongſt Forreigners, to ſee ſo young an head have any ſhare in them; he ſaid the ſame to *Cinqmars* himſelf, with other words ſo offenſive, that they put him into a very paſſionate fit of rage and anger.

Sometime after, when the Cardinal was informed, that *Cinqmars* made Courtſhip to the Princeſs *Mary*, and pretended to Marry her, he uſed ſome ſuch provoking raileries towards him upon that occaſion; and ſaid, he thought that the Princeſs had not ſo far forgot her birth, as to accept of ſo mean a Companion. This diſcourſe being related to him compleated his hatred towards the Cardinal.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed at Court between the Cardinal and *Cinqmars*, the Duke of *Bouillon* went a Journey into *Guyenne*, having made ſome ſtay at *Turreune*; and afterwards going into *Perigord*, when he was at *Limeuil*, as he was coming from hunting, an unknown Perſon gave him a billet from *de Thou*; he was extreamly ſurprized when he found it dated but half a League from *Limeuil*, and that *de Thou* deſired him to appoint a Place where they might diſcourſe together without his being known; he did what was deſired, and *de Thou* told him, that he was charged with a meſſage from *Cinqmars*, to deſire him inſtantly to return to Court, it being about matters of great importance: He askt *de Thou* the reaſon of

of this propoſition, but was the more ſurprized, when he underſtood that *Cinqmars* had not acquainted him therewith; at this he ſeemed to be much diſpleaſed, ſaying, That he was but newly arrived, and it would be very inconvenient for him to return without any plauſible pretence, or apparent Reaſon: whereupon *de Thou* returned little ſatisfied with his journey.

About Three Weeks after *de Thou*'s return, the Duke received a Letter from the King, to come to Court with all ſpeed; he departed immediately, and before he came to Court, *de Thou* came to wait upon him from *Cinqmars*, to deſire that they might confer together, before the Duke ſaw either the King or Cardinal; the Duke was brought to *Cinqmars* privately, *Fontrails* was in the chamber with him, whom *Cinqmars* preſented to the Duke as one in whom he had an eſpecial confidence; after the firſt complements, *Fontrails* and *de Thou* went into a Cloſet, and then *Cinqmars* told the Duke, that the King was not well ſince his return from *Picardy*, and yet the Cardinal had put him upon a new Journy into *Catalonia*; that at the ſame time it was reſolved to ſend for him from *Turenne*, to give him the Command of the Army in *Italy*, which he thought proceeded not from any good intentions of the Cardinal towards him, who repreſented him diſadvantageouſly to the King, and ſaid, That his Lady had too great an aſcendant over him, ſhe being inclined to favour the *Spaniards*, and that he had heard Monſieur *Noyers* ſay to the King, That it was no difficult matter to take *Sedan* from him, for that being obliged by the Treaty to receive the Kings Troops into it, they might Lawfully Arreſt him, if he ſhould refuſe thoſe which ſhould be ſent thither: That their diſtruſt of him was ſo great, that they would not ſuffer him to return to *Sedan*, but would ſend him into *Italy*, only to ſecure his Perſon if the King ſhould die, that it would not be difficult to Arreſt him in an Army where he had no Troops of his own, nor friends that he could depend upon; and beſides, the principal Action would be towards *Flanders* and *Germany*. *Cinqmars* added, that himſelf was more than ever in the Kings favour, as alſo in the good opinion of *Monſieur*, whom he had informed that they deſigned to oblige him alſo, to make the journey to *Catalonia*, but that he adviſed him not to go, being aſſured, that the Cardinal deſigned to arreſt him, if the King ſhould happen to dye: That in that caſe the Cardinal had no mean deſigns, having perſwaded the King to leave the Queen and her two Children in the Caſtle of *Vincennes*, whereof *Chavigni* his Creature was Governour; that the King could not live long, and the Cardinal had put him upon this journey, that dying at a diſtance, and the Cardinal being Maſter of the Court and Army, his Ambition would have no bounds, but what he pleaſed to ſet to it. I have adviſed *Monſieur* alſo, ſaid *Cinqmars*, that in that extremity he ſhould make ſure of the *Spaniards*, that if the King dyed, their party might be ſupported by ſtrangers, which ſhould be grounded upon a Treaty for a general peace, and by that means they might ſhelter themſelves from the pernicious deſigns of the Cardinal, who was their common enemy, and that the readyeſt way to ruine him, if the King dyed not, was to diſpoſe *Monſieur* to betake himſelf to Arms; and I ſaid he can oblidge the King to Abandon the Cardinal, of whom he already grows weary; and I have made a

Draught of a TREATY with *Spain*, which I will ſhew you.

Here the Duke of *Bouillon* interrupted him, and ſaid, As to the Treaty with *Spain*, I came ſo lately out of their hands, and have found ſo much of their Falſehood and Weakneſs, that I am reſolved never to intruſt my ſelf with them again; and their Diviſions are ſo great, that they will infallibly ruine themſelves. *Cinqmars* was mightily ſurprized to find the Duke ſo averſe to a Treaty with *Spain*; and though he feared he had explained himſelf too far already, yet he proceeded to affirm, That it would be advantageous to *Monſieur*, to make a Treaty with *Spain*, but that he would prevent his making uſe of it, unleſs in caſe of neceſſity: and ſpeaking again concerning the Duke of *Bouillon*, he aſſured him, That he had made his Peace with his Royal Highneſs: and ended, by obſerving to the Duke, how much he might depend upon him, ſeeing he had imparted ſuch Matters to him, as that his Life and Fortune depended upon his ſecrecy.

The Duke of *Bouillon* Anſwered, That he ſhould never have Cauſe to repent it; and then asked him, If he had acquainted *de Thou* with the Matter; and underſtanding he had not, the Duke alſo ſaid he would not ſpeak to him concerning it; that as to the employ of *Italy*, he would deliberate concerning it, and they might diſcourſe of other Matters at more leiſure.

This Diſcourſe gave the Duke of *Bouillon* Subject enough to conſider upon: He was preſently to Reſolve, concerning the Imploy of *Italy*: he ſaw danger in Accepting of it, and more in his Refuſal; and if he took that Reſolution, he had no other way, but to retire ſpeedily and privately to *Sedan*.

This was what *Cinqmars*, and the Enemies of the Cardinal might moſt deſire; but this (though it might ſeem moſt for his preſent ſecurity) he foreſaw would end in his utter Ruine; beſides, the Dutcheſs of *Bouillon*, and his Children, were at *Turenne*, being as it were Hoſtages of his Conduct: In fine, having conſidered all things, he reſolved to accept the Imploy, being ſomething moved with the Glory of being ſent for, to command an Army for the King, within ſix Months after the Battle of *Sedan*.

The King was now infirm, and it was generally believed he could not live long; Every one was full of Projects how to regulate themſelves upon the Revolution they expected: The Queen feared the having her Children taken away from her by the Cardinal, the better to ſupport his Regency; the Duke of *Orleance*, who had often found the bloody Effects of the Cardinals Hatred, look'd upon him as his moſt dangerous Enemy: The Duke of *Bouillon* was not a little perplexed, and at a loſs how to regulate himſelf, and what Meaſures to take; the Imploy of *Italy* was now offered him, and though he had not declared his Reſolutions, yet it was ſpread abroad at Court, that he refuſed the Imploy.

The Queen believing this Report, ſent *de Thou* privately to the Duke *de Bouillon*, to engage him to her ſervice, and deſired two things of him; Firſt, That he would accept the Imploy of *Italy*, thinking it for her Benefit, to have a Perſon of his Merit, whom ſhe could confide in, at the Head of an Army: And Secondly, That he would promiſe to receive her, with her two Children, into *Sedan*, if the King ſhould dye; ſhe being ſo apprehenſive of the Cardinal, that ſhe could not look upon her ſelf to be ſafe in *France*: *De Thou* alſo told him, That the Queen and Duke of *Orleans* were, ſince the

the Kings Sickneſs, entred into a ſtrict League and Correſpondence with one another, which was effected chiefly by the Mediation of *Cinqmars*.

The Duke Anſwered, That it was impoſſible things ſhould come to that extremity, as that the Children of *France* ſhould need a Retreat, but that they ſhould always be Maſters at *Sedan*, if the Queen pleaſed to ſend them thither, and that he ſhould think it a great Honour to receive them; and as to the Imploy of *Italy*, if it was offered him, he would comply with the Queens deſire in accepting of it.

The King began now to recover, and the Duke was offered the Imploy of *Italy* by the Cardinal, which he accepted. The ſame day *Cinqmars* came to wait upon the Duke, to carry him to *Monſieur*; *Monſieur* ſpoke very obligingly to him, and deſired his Friendſhip, promiſing to ſerve him upon all occaſions: *Cinqmars* added, (addreſſing himſelf to *Monſieur*) That he thought he had done him a great Service, in having brought over to his Intereſt, a Perſon of the Dukes Quality and Merit; then he ſpoke of the Cardinal without any Reſpect or Reſtraint, making a large Narration of what they were all to fear, if the King dyed, and *Fontrails* and *Aubijoux* being preſent, he ſaid it was neceſſary to Treat with the *Spaniards*: Then *Monſieur* Replyed, That he was going to ſend *Fontrails* to *Madrid*, and that he would recommend the Intereſt of the Duke of *Bouillon* to him, if he pleaſed to enter into the Treaty. The Duke Anſwered, That he had already declared his mind to *Cinqmars*, and that he had not changed his Opinion ſince. Then he repreſented the Condition of the *Spaniards*, and their want of Performance of their Treaties; adding, That he doubted not but their Conſideration for the Perſon of *Monſieur*, would oblige them to do more than they had done for the Count, or him, but that there was no precaution ſufficient againſt their want of Faith and Weakneſs: The Duke of *Bouillon*, as we may eaſily judge, was not prepared for this Converſation, and was ſorry to ſee himſelf expoſed to it; yet making Reflections upon the Power *Monſieur* would have, if the King ſhould dye, and the Engagements that were betwixt him and the Queen, wherewith *de Thou* had acquainted him, he thought himſelf obliged to diſcourſe further of the Revolution which was expected: He added then, That he knew not what the Deſign might be, if the King ſhould dye, but that conſidering the Confidence he was pleaſed to have in him, he thought himſelf obliged to acquaint him, that a Perſon of his Merit, ought always to depend upon his own Country-men, and not on Strangers; that he might have obſerved, that when the Cardinal look'd upon him as his Enemy, he had omitted nothing that might bring him to a Reſolution of departing out of *France*: that in a Regency, he would without queſtion deſire the ſame; that being amongſt the Enemies of the State, it would always be a plauſible pretence of ſuſpecting his Intentions, and of alienating the Parliament and People from his Intereſt; that there was no danger of his being Arreſted, if the King dyed: that the Queen only was capable of Diſputing any thing with him under a Regency; and if they were united, there was no appearance that the Cardinal alone could reſiſt them; but that if he ſhould be reduced to a neceſſity of departing out of *France*, *Sedan* would be a ſafe Retreat for him, the Queen, and Children of *France*; and he engaged himſelf not to enter into any other Intereſt but

theirs: Then *Monſieur* took the Duke and *Cinqmars* aſide from *Fontrails*, and *Aubijoux*, and acquainted the Duke with the Intelligence there was between the Queen and him, concluding with his great ſatisfaction in the Dukes kind Expreſſions.

When the Duke was alone with *Cinqmars*, he told him how incongruous it was to inſinuate to *Monſieur* the Retreat to *Sedan*. That there was no neceſſity of ſpeaking before him, concerning the Treaty of *Spain*: *Cinqmars* Replyed, *All this obliges you to nothing; I have rendered you a conſiderable piece of Service, not onely in having reconciled you to* Monſieur, *and obliged him to diſcourſe before you with ſo much Confidence; but further alſo, in having perſwaded him to deliver himſelf intirely into your hands, as he will do, if he retire to* Sedan; *but I promiſe nevertheleſs, to hinder it, if you think it not expedient.*

The Duke Anſwered, *Remember that I have not promiſed any Retreat to* Sedan, *but only in caſe of the Kings Death; for whilſt he is living, it would be an odd piece of Conduct in me, to be found at the Head of one of his Armies, whilſt* Monſieur *and the* Spaniards *ſhould make* Sedan *the Seat of a Civil War.*

The next day the Duke reported to *de Thou*, the Diſcourſe he had had with *Monſieur*, excepting only what concerned the *Spaniards*; and alſo what paſſed between *Cinqmars* and him, after parting with *Monſieur*, that as much a Favourite as he was, if he acted ſo with him again, they ſhould certainly come to a Rupture, and that he perceived eaſily, that all his officious care, proceeded only from a deſire he had to embarque him in the Affair, and to make him a Support againſt the Cardinal.

De Thou did not excuſe *Cinqmars*; he owned, that his youth oftentimes made him proceed too raſhly, and that the Duke ſhould take care of entangling himſelf.

Cinqmars had now loſt ſome part of the King's Favour, yet endeavoured to conceal it from the Duke of *Bouillon*; and the Duke going now to take leave of the Cardinal, before he went his Journey into *Italy*, not finding him at home, dined with *Cinqmars*; and after dinner, being alone with him and *Fontrails*, *Cinqmars* could not forbear declaring his Hatred againſt the Cardinal, and to diſcourſe of the Treaty with *Spain*; the Duke was not ſorry for it, that he might ſhew his Opinion was not changed; but *Fontrails*, upon occaſion of the difficulty which the Duke propoſed, took occaſion to ſay, *There was ſhorter and more aſſured Methods to be taken with the* Cardinal, *if any one would put them in practice*: *Cinqmars* Replyed, *That the other Means* Fontrails *meant, were no doubt, if the Duke of* Bouillon, *inſtead of going into* Italy, *would give a Retreat to* Monſieur *in* Sedan, *and retire with him to declare War againſt the* Cardinal: The Duke Replyed, *That they were to keep to what had been agreed to already, and that he would not proceed any further*: Then he added, *That* Sedan *was a good Place, but not able to hold out long before a powerful Army, becauſe there were two Poſts near it, which could not well be maintained; and that the taking of them would infallibly occaſion the Loſs of the Place, that all they could reckon upon* Sedan *for, was to aſſemble an Army there to be ready to enter into* France *to hazard a Battle.* This Converſation being ended, the Duke waited upon the Cardinal in the Evening, where it was agreed, that he might depart for *Turenne* as ſoon as he pleaſed.

The Duke now went to take leave of *Monſieur*, when *de Thou* came to tell him the News, That the Marſhal *de Guebriant* had defeated *Lamboy*; whereupon the Duke ſaid, That after this Check, there was nothing more to be expected from the *Spaniards*, and that their Affairs would be entirely ruined in *Flanders*, if the *Hollanders* any ways favoured *France*.

The Duke ſtayed two or three days at *Paris* upon his Private Buſineſs: *Cinqmars* came again to bid him adieu, and renewed all his former Proteſtations of Friendſhip.

The Duke paſſing by *Limoges*, *Fontrails* arrived there in a manner as ſoon as he, and having found him, Acquainted him, That he was going to *Madrid* by Order of *Monſieur*, for to Treat with the *Spaniards*; and that looking upon him, as one that was to ſuſtain the Weight of Affairs, he deſired him above all things, to take eſpecial Care of his Perſon: The Duke Anſwered, He thought *Monſieur* had layd aſide the Treaty with *Spain*, upon the News of the Defeat of *Lamboy*; that as for himſelf, he might well judge this ill Succeſs of theirs had not altered his Diſpoſition, and therefore deſired him not to name him in the Negotiation, for that he was more fully reſolved than ever, not to engage himſelf with the *Spaniards*, in a Matter wherein his Life was concerned: *Fontrails* endeavoured to make him leſs poſitive, but in vain.

Towards the end of *March*, *Monmort* going to *Tholouſe*, rid Poſt by *Turenne*: He was a Gentleman of Quality, and as much a Favourite and Confident of *Cinqmars* as *Fontrails*. *Cinqmars* had Ordered him to tell the Duke he would have him ſo to order his Buſineſs, that he might meet him at *Lyons*, as he went to *Italy*, when the King paſſed that way on his Journey to *Catalonia*; but the Duke retarded his Journey, not being willing to hear of any more troubleſome Propoſitions: The Duke being at *Turenne*, near to *Lyons*, *Monmort* came Poſt to him by Night, to acquaint him, That the Cardinal was at the laſt extreamity, and *Cinqmars* very much in the Kings Favour; that *Fontrails* was come back with the Treaty from *Madrid*, Signed as they had projected it, but that in the Condition wherein the Cardinal was, it would be uſeleſs: The Duke Replyed, It was very happy they ſtood not in need of the *Spaniſh* Succours, for he was very well aſſured, they could not give them any that was conſiderable.

The Cardinal indeed was ſick ſome few days; after he had paſſed *Lyons*, he ſtayed by the way, and was carryed to *Tarascon*, whilſt the King went to the Siege of *Perpignan*: The Cardinal was not only afflicted with his own Sickneſs, but alſo with the growing Favour of *Cinqmars*; inſomuch, that he ſometimes deliberated, Whither he ſhould not retire from Court, *Cinqmars*, his declared Enemy, being ſo much in Favour there.

In the mean time, the King fell ſick at *Perpignan*, and was carryed to *Narbonne*; and it was the general Opinion, that he was paſt Recovery. *Cinqmars* ſent a Courier to inform *Monſieur* of it, who was gone to *Bourbon*, under pretence of drinking the Waters: He no ſooner received the News of the King's Sickneſs, but he ſent the Count *de Aubijoux* Poſt immediately to the Duke *de Bouillon*. He carryed only one Letter of Credence, and was ſent to demand of the Duke of *Bouillon*, the neceſſary Orders for *Monſieur*, the *Queen and her Children to be received into* Sedan.

This seemed to be plausible, and Glorious enough to the Duke of *Bouillon*; but he had reason to fear, lest by this Ingagement, he should find himself (contrary to his inclinations) imbarqu'd with the *Spaniards* in carrying on a Civil War: *De Aubijoux*, who knew with what impatience they expected his Return, endeavoured to remove his Suspitions, and told him, he was too much his Servant, to conceal from him, that if they sent him back without granting him any thing, *Monsieur* would resent it mortally; and if the King dyed at *Narbonne*, (as it was not doubted but he would) he would find himself to be in ill Circumstances, to have the Cardinal *for his Secret, and* Monsieur *for his declared Enemy*.

The Duke resisted some time all these Considerations, but a Courier coming from Court, with Letters for him, and the Officers of the Army, which all declared that they despaired of the King's Life; the Duke then resolved, and gave *de Aubijoux* the Letters he desired, taking an Oath of him, that he would not let them go out of his hands, till after the King's Death; and that if he recovered, he would keep them to restore unto him; or if he found it dangerous, that he should burn them.

At the return of *Aubijoux* things were strangely changed, the King was out of danger, and the Cardinal amidst his consternations and fears, had been informed of the journey *Fontrails* had made to *Madrid*, he sent *Chavigni* Secretary of State, to inform the King thereof; desiring his secresie; but *Cinqmars* perceived some alteration in the Kings affection to him, and spoke thereof to *Fontrails*, who advised him to retire to *Monsieur*; but not being able to perswade him to it, he under a pretence of a duel saved himself in *England*: *Cinqmars* sent to inform *Monsieur* of it, who desired him to meet him at *Moulins* at an appointed time, for he was resolved to go out of the Kingdom, by the way of *Franch Comté*.

In the mean time, the Cardinal used all his endeavours to discover the design of *Fontrails* voyage, and obtained in the end, a Copy of the Treaty with *Spain*, it not being known by whom or what means he discovered it; he sent it to the King, and thereupon *Cinqmars* and *de Thou* were arrested, and orders sent to observe *Mounsieur*, who seeing himself prevented from escaping, confessed the whole matter to the King, upon promise of pardon.

The Chancellour was sent for to form *de Thou*, and *Cinqmars* process; and seeing *Fontrails*. to give the *Spaniards* a greater Idea of their Party, had named the Duke of *Bouillon* in the Treaty, they sent in all hast to arrest him.

The orders were sent to the General Officers that Commanded under him, the Count *de Plessis-Praslin*, *Couvonges*, and *Castallan*; who fearing to arrest him at the head of his Army, resolved to do it at the Cittadel of *Gazal*, which the Duke was to visit the next day. *Couvonges* who was Governour of it went before, the Duke took *Castallan* along with him, and left *Du Plessis* to Command in the Camp; the Duke going to his Lodgings after supper, met an Officer who came from the Army, and asking him what news, The Officer said, he knew none, but if there were any, he might hear it of the Count *du Plessis* who was arrived before him: the Duke said to *Couvonges*, that he knew not what the Count meant by quitting

quitting the Army without his leave: *Couvonges* ſaid, he was newly arrived, but gave ſo ſlender a reaſon for it, that the Duke began to ſuſpect ſomething.

Couvonges obſerved the Dukes ſurpriſe, as he had done his, and went to look the Count *de Pleſſis* to inform him of what had hapned; they had reſolved to arreſt him when he was in bed, and it fell to *Couvonges* lot to acquaint him with it: but he had ſo great an eſteem and reſpect for the Duke, that he could not reſolve upon arreſting him in the Cittadel, but rather choſe to arreſt him in the Town, thinking thereby that he ſhould obſerve in ſome meaſure the rules of hoſpitality, and perform with leſs regret, an action for which he could not excuſe himſelf. *Couvonges* having told *de Pleſſis* and *Caſtallan*, what had hapned between the Duke and him, they judged that it was dangerous to defer it a moment longer; whereupon *Couvonges* went back into the Dukes Chamber, where finding him walking, he deſired to ſpeak with him in private: *Couvonges* began with the ordinary complement upon ſuch an occaſion, that he was extreamly ſorry, that he had received an order from the King, to make him priſoner. The Duke anſwered, if he had any, it was counterfeited, and demanded to ſee it. *Couvonges* anſwered, he had left it with the Count *de Pleſſis* who was not far off. Then the Duke bad him go look for it, and laying his hand upon his Sword, added, That he knew not what ſhould hinder him from running him through, ſince he knew ſo little his Duty, as to attempt to arreſt one of his Quality, without having his orders ready. *Couvonges* went out into the Court, and the Duke putting out the lights, went out at a back door; he met in the ſtreet *Saint Aubin* the Maſter of his Houſehold, and having acquainted him with the matter, they went to the Rampart and endeavoured to eſcape, but judged it impoſſible, having caſt down ſtones in ſeveral places to find the height of the Walls. *Saint Aubin* offered to have leapt down firſt, but the Duke would not ſuffer him.

The watch appearing the Duke went back, and ſtaying near the ruines of a houſe, ſent *Saint Aubin* into the Town to ſee in what poſture they were, and to buy Cords wherewith to get down the Wall: *Saint Aubin* quickly returned, and told him that all the avenues were ſeized, and that the people had taken Arms upon the report that he would have delivered *Cazal* into the hands of the *Spaniards*: And the Duke himſelf preſently heard them proclaim with ſound of Trumpet, a reward of one *Hundred Piſtoles* to any that could take him alive or dead.

In this extreamity, finding himſelf in a ſtreet that had no paſſage through, wherein there was an Ale houſe, he went in pretending to drink; he found in the houſe only one woman, whoſe husband was run out upon occaſion of the noyſe in the ſtreets, but ſoon came back and told them what he had learnt: The Duke ſeeing he had no other ſhift, endeavoured to gain this man; and that he might do it the more eaſily, ſent out his wife for ſome Wine: He then offered him his purſe, wherein were *Twenty* or *Thirty* pieces of Gold, and promiſed to make his Fortunes. He gained him ſo far, that before his wife came back, he had hidden him in a hay-loft, promiſing the next night to ſave him, and ſay nothing to his wife; but he

could

could not forbear acquainting her with the ſecret, and ſhe diſcovered it to *Couvonges* on the morrow; who going to ſee if it were true, and having made ſome Soldiers get up into the loft, the Duke ſeeing himſelf diſcovered, drew his Sword, ſaying, He would kill the firſt that ſhould come near him: One of the Soldiers ſtruck a Piſtol at him, but it miſſed fire; which *Couvonges* hearing, went up with a ladder, and ſaid to the Souldiers, that he would hang the firſt that ſhould touch the Duke.

The people were ready to aſſaſſinate him in the ſtreets as he paſſed, by reaſon of the report of his delivering the place to the *Spaniards*: But he was carried away in a pad-lockt Chariot, and with a ſtrong Guard.

The Duke *de Bouillon* Receiving from his friends, when he was in Priſon, a Biller, which gave him an account of affairs; was in the greateſt Indignation poſſible, when he underſtood that *Fontrails* had not only aſſured the King of *Spain* on *Monſieur*'s behalf, that the Duke would enter into the Treaty, and make *Sedan* a place of Retreat, but alſo that in the ſame treaty they had demanded, and obtained a penſion for him: and it was an addition to his grief when he underſtood, that *Monſieur* having given a Copy of the Treaty, had not mentioned in what caſe only it was that the Duke had promiſed to receive him into *Sedan*: perhaps not being willing to diſcover to the King the project they had formed upon the occaſion of his death, nor to the Cardinal what fears and apprehenſions they had of him.

In the mean while the proceſs of *Cinqmars* and *de Thou* was made, who were condemned to have their Heads cut off; the one as Author of the Treaty with *Spain*, the other for knowing of it, and not revealing it.

They both dyed with great Courage and Piety: *Cinqmars* being ready to aſcend the Scaffold, writ to his Mother to deſire her to pay ſome of his Creditors; and the Letter diſcovered the great freedom of his mind, and the care he had of his Conſcience; and *de Thou* made a very Religious diſcourſe, wherein he diſcovered a great Faith, and Renunciation of the world.

The Duke little skil'd in the Laws of the Realm, thought he had done but like a man of Honour, in not diſcovering the ſecrets of his friends; and that it was ſufficient to excuſe him from Treaſon, in not giving any power, or having ſigned any thing relating to the Treaty with *Spain*; but when he heard of the Condemnation of *de Thou*, he nothing doubted of his own Ruine, and endeavoured to prepare himſelf for death; but he eſcaped Condemnation thro' the Intereſt of the Viſcount *de Turrenne* his Brother, and eſpecially by the negotiation of Mademoiſelle *de Bouillon*, who was ſent to the Court, by the Dutcheſs *Bouillon* her Siſter-in-law, to acquaint the Cardinal, that if they executed her husband, ſhe would deliver *Sedan* to the *Spaniards*; ſhe alſo declared, that ſhe had power to treat for his Life and Liberty; and it was agreed, that the King ſhould have *Sedan*, and give the Duke a recompence in other Lands; and that during the execution of the Treaty, the Duke ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the Kings Troops enter into *Sedan*.

Cardinal *Mazaraine*, a creature of Cardinal *Reichelieu*'s, was ſent on the Kings part to receive and take all neceſſary ſecurities; and the Dutcheſs being

being perſwaded that the Life and Liberty of her Husband depended upon her ſurrendring of *Sedan*, did it with the ſame Freedom, as ſhe would have received a conſiderable Favour, and went to *Turenne* to ſee the Duke her Husband who was retired thither.

The Duke, though deſpoyled of his Soveraignty, and newly come out of Priſon, did not diſcover any change of his Mind and Temper. Four or five months after his Arrival at *Turenne*, the Cardinal *Reichlieu* dyed at *Paris*: The Duke altered not his Conduct upon this occaſion, but the King dying four or five months after him, made him take new Reſolutions. The Queen being declared Regent, and *Monſieur* the Duke of *Orleans* Chief of the Council, the Duke thought it might be very advantageous to him; whereupon he came to Court, and was well received; and it was thought he would ſpeedily be reſtored to *Sedan*: But he ſoon found Matters cool, and inſtead of having an Audience of the Queen and *Monſieur*, he was referred to the Abbot *de la Rivere*, to diſcourſe with him concerning his Pretenſions.

He deſired to have *Sedan* reſtored to him, till the Treaty of Exchange was agreed on, and ſigned; otherways he foreſaw, that there would be infinite Delays and Controverſies in it, if it was regarded only as his private Affair, and not as having the King's Intereſt engaged in it, in acquiring ſo conſiderable a Fortreſs; and as a Pledge of his own Fidelity, he was willing to leave his Children for Hoſtages: The Abbot Replyed, It was not in his power to grant what he demanded, but that he would repreſent his Caſe fairly, and that it ſhould not be his fault, if he did not receive a ſpeedy and favourable Anſwer. The Duke waited long for it, and not being able to ſee the Queen and *Monſieur*, he went to wait upon the Abbot, and going often without finding of him, one day being in his Anti Chamber, when ſome Perſons of Quality came from him, and demanding alſo to ſpeak with him, a *Valet de Chambre* ſaid he was gone abroad: This quite overcame his patience, and he told the *Valet de Chambre*, that he might aſſure his Maſter, If it had not been for the Conſideration of *Monſieur*, he would have treated him after ſuch a manner, that he ſhould have had Cauſe to remember, as long as he liv'd, how uncivilly he had behaved himſelf towards him: This made great Noiſe at Court, and the Queen and *Monſieur* not being willing to recompence his Service, propoſed to the Council to arreſt him, but he being informed of it rid Poſt, without taking leave, to *Turenne*.

Some Particulars of the Life and Actions of *Henry de la Tour d' Auvergne*, Viſcount *de TURENNE*.

HAving been large in relating the Life of this Duke, I ſhall be the briefer in the Particulars of the Life of *Henry de la Tour d' Auvergn*, Vicount *de Turenne*, his Brother. Our Author pretends not to write his Life, but by reaſon of his Acquaintance and Negotiations with him, to give you ſome Particulars, which might otherwiſe have eſcaped his Hiſtorians: He was of a moderate Stature, and neither fat nor lean;

his Gate and Behaviour ſeemed to declare him audacious and bold, rather than modeſt and fearful: his Hair was of a Cheſnut-Colour; he had with a ſmiling Countenance ſome mixture of Melancholly, which rendred his Phiſiognomy ſomething extraordinary, and very difficult to paint: He began his Apprenticeſhip of War in *Holland*, under the Prince of *Orange* his Unckle, whither he was ſent at fourteen years of age; he had a Natural Inclination to War, animated by the deſire of Glory, which made him apply himſelf to it with that diligence, that he gained a Reputation equal to the greateſt Captains of former Ages: He had very much Wit, but leſs of Brightneſs and Clearneſs than of Depth and ſolid Wiſdom; he was very tender over his Souldiers, and far from caſting the blame of Unfortunate Incounters upon the Officers that Commanded; he on the contrary, uſed always to comfort them, and raiſe their Courage when they had met with any ill Fortune.

He was incapable of Hatred, but not of Love: He was ſeen in tears in the ſtreets of *Pontoiſe*, when he heard at the Gate, That the Duke of *Bouillon*, his Brother, was dangerouſly ſick there, on the Sickneſs whereof he dyed; and his Tears were the more touching and natural, in that he endeavoured to reſtrain them.

His Modeſty was ſo great, that ſpeaking of his Brother, the Duke of *Bouillon*, he ſaid, *It is thought I know ſomething of War, but there is nothing more certain, than that I may learn much more of my Brother; and as for Buſineſs, he is infinitely before me:* His natural Goodneſs was ſo great, that he could never be hardned by all the Blood he ſaw ſhed, nor hindred from endeavouring the Advancement of every one, maugre all the Ingratitude he met with.

For ſome years Fortune was his Foe in the Wars; yet in all his Unfortunate and Unſucceſsful Attempts, Fame hath always done Juſtice to his Courage and Capacity; and he often acquired greater Glory, than thoſe that have had the Advantage over him.

During the Regency in the year 1649. *Paris* took Arms to drive away the Cardinal *Mazarine*. The Vicount *de Turenne*, lead by the fatal Conſtellation that raigned then, or by his own particular Reſentments againſt the Cardinal, took up a Reſolution contrary to the Intereſt of the Cardinal: But it was what he did not look upon as contrary to the Intereſt of the Publick. He commanded the Army of *Germany*, compoſed of 12 or 15000 men, who were generally Strangers; he was in ſo great a Veneration by reaſon of his great Merit & manner of living with the Souldiers, (moſt of the Principal Officers being alſo advanced, & particularly obliged by him) that they engaged all the reſt to take an Oath, to obey none but himſelf: This Ingagement was proclaimed by the Sound of Drum & Trumpet, & the Acclamations of the Souldiers. He marched then towards *France*; but the third day after, having advanced as far as *Spire*, to finiſh the Bridge there, which the Army was to paſs, *Longpré* Lieutenant Collonel of the Regiment of Infantry of *Vaubecourt*, came to Advertiſe him in great haſt, That *Thouball* and *Chuſi*, two general Officers of the Forreigners, (who yet owed their Advancement to the Vicount *de Turenne*, and in whom he placed an eſpecial Truſt and Confidence) had been all night conferring with *Hervard*, who was ſent by the Cardinal, and brought Orders from the Queen, and Letters from the Prince of *Conde*, for the Officers of the Army; ſo that being gained by great

Hopes

Hopes and Sums of Money, they prevailed with the Army to change their Opinion, and to march another way.

These Troops which had so lately shewn so much Zeal and Affection to the Vicount *de Turenne*, had infallibly made him Prisoner, if he had not saved himself immediately: And this was the first time that he observed how little safety there is for mens Lives and Fortunes, when they depend upon an u'urped Power.

The Campaign following, the Vicount *de Turenne* appeared at the Head of the *Spanish* Army, for the deliverance of the Princes of *Conde* and *Conti*, and fought the Battle of *Retbel*; he lost it, and when it was come to that pass, that he had no more to do, but to save his Person: He fled on a wounded Horse, followed only by *La Barge*, Lieutenant of his Guards on a wounded Horse also. After they had marched a while, they saw five Troopers come after them full speed; *la Barge*, said to the Viscount, *I have but one Pistol to discharge, and you have discharged both yours*; Monsieur, *What will you do? Dye* (said he) *la Barge, rather than return into* France, *to be made a publick Scorn.* Then being overtaken by two of the Troopers who marched before the rest, *la Barge* went to one and killed him with his Pistol, the other took the Viscount by his Belt, and said, *Good Quarter, Mr. de Turenne*; But the Viscount killed him with a stroak of his Sword: Of the three Troopers that remained, one fired a Pistol at the Viscount, but missed him, and then they all three retired; but the Vicount *de Turenne* had been infallibly lost, his Horse and *la Barge*'s being not in a condition to march any farther, had not *La Vaux* an Officer of Horse of the Regiment of *Beauveau* come by at that instant, and given the Vicount his Horse to save himself.

After this Second Action, which he never remembred without grief and repentance, Posterity will wonder to find him at the Head of one of the King's Armies, and relyed on with an intire Confidence. If there be but few Examples of so great and so speedy a Change, he shewed himself worthy of it afterwards, by his inviolable Fidelity and great Services.

As soon as he had received the necessary Orders for the Command of the Army, he departed from *Blois*, where the Court then was, and went towards *Sully* and *Gien*, to assemble the Troops that were to serve under him. Presently after the King departed from *Blois*, to go to *Orleans*, which having shut their Gates upon him, he resolved do go to *Gien*; and as he was passing carelessly under the Walls of *Gergeau*, a little Town on the River *Loire*, the Baron de *Syrop*, who commanded the Prince's Army, assaulted the Bridge of *Gergeau*, designing to open a way to fall on the Court in their March: He was already Master of the Gate on the other side of the River, and was working at a Lodgment on the middle of the Bridge, whilst they mounted two pieces of Canon to batter the other. The Vicount *de Turenne*, who was advanced to meet the King, hearing the Report of the Musquets, left his way, and threw himself into *Gergeau*: He found there some Infantry, but so ill provided of Ammunition, that they had nothing left to charge with; seeing the importance of the Affair, he made them open the Gates, and let down the Draw-bridge; and that the Enemy might hear, he commanded aloud to the Infantry, who lined the

Curtain, that upon pain of death, none ſhould diſcharge without Order: Afterwards putting himſelf at the Head of thoſe near him, he marched towards the Enemy with his Sword in his hand, and drove them from the Lodgment they had made on the Bridge, and maugre all their Attempts, and the force of their Cannon, (which killed eight or ten men near him) he drove them beyond the River, and broke two of the Arches of the Bridge, that he might put the Court out of danger.

The King arrived at *Gien*, and the Vicount poſted himſelf at *Briare*, and went to viſit the Marſhal *de Hoquincourt*, who was near *Bleneau*, with a conſiderable Body of Troops, which were coming to joyn him: The Vicount having viewed his Camp, ſaid, He was much expoſed, and adviſed him to Retire to *Briare*, but he replyed there was no fear, and that a good Guard would be ſufficient: But the Viſcount was no ſooner Retired to *Briare*, but the Marſhal was attacqued and defeated; the Viſcount was Marching to his Relief, but before he was Marched a League, he heard of his defeat. The Officers were for Marching towards the Kings Perſon, and not meeting the enemy with ſo great an unequality, but the Marſhal gave orders to march forwards: *La Barge* came and informed him that all the Souldiers murmurred, and ſaid, He would loſe all if he returned not to the King; the Viſcount replyed, This is a fine ſhift, after the example which *Orleans* has given, where will they open the gates, if we preſent our ſelves before them vanquiſhed and flying? we muſt either periſh or ſave all. The day before, as he returned from the Marſhal *de Hoquincourts* Quarters to *Briare*, he had obſerved a Moras which made a long defile, he judged the Enemy would be obliged to paſs that way; he marched then immediately, and arrived ſo opportunely, that he was on one ſide of the Moras, when the Enemies Troops began to appear on the other; he had not then with him above *Three Thouſand five Hundred* men, yet ſtopt therewith a Victorious Army Compoſed of *Thirteen or Fourteen Thouſand*, and Commanded by the Prince of *Condé*.

They were very much alaram'd at Court by the defeat of Marſhal *de Hoquincourt*, but were mightily terrified, when they heard of the Viſcounts March, not doubting but that the ſame fortune would attend him alſo; the Court was preparing to paſs over the River, having Pioneers ready to break down the Arches. When they heard of the Viſcounts great Succeſs, and were aſſured, that after he had ſeen the Enemy return to their Quarters, he came back to poſt himſelf at *Briare* with his Army.

The Cardinal ſhewed a Relation of this action to the Viſcount, which he intended to publiſh to prevent falſe Reports, which began by the Council the Viſcount had given the Marſhal the day before to retire to *Briare*. The Viſcount cauſed that part to be ſtruck out, ſaying, The Marſhal was unfortunate enough, without adding ſo diſagreeable a circumſtance.

He was accuſtomed to few words, and loved not long diſcourſes; his profound Muſings made him ask ſometimes queſtions to little purpoſe, and ſpeak things very improper and incoherent. He was ſometimes prepoſſeſſed with averſions which he could not overcome; for example, how brave ſoever a man was, yet he could not endure him in the Field, if he made any extraordinary proviſions againſt the weather: Thoſe whom he deſpi-

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ſed, he could ſcarcely ſpeak to them with any ſort of decency. He was offended that men repreſented him as being always diſtruſtful, and often prepoſſeſſed.

He always loved them of his own houſe, but at the beginning he loved his houſe leſs than his fortune; and afterwards he preferred his Glory both to his fortune and his houſe.

Upon all occaſions he relieved his Kindred above his ability, and diſpoyled himſelf of part of his heritage, in favour of ſome of them; being more touched with their neceſſities than his own wants.

He never boaſted of his Liberality; and what he beſtowed was with a ſingular modeſty, very rare, and yet neceſſary to purge Liberality from that pride and vanity which frequently accompanies it: Thoſe vertues which ſeldom belong to Old men, were ſo natural in him, that in his laſt years he beſtowed his bounties freelyer than ever; inſomuch that under a Liberal and Magnificent Prince, and in an Age ſo fertile in great fortunes: He dyed poſſeſſed of a leſs Eſtate than he received from his Anceſtors.

Diſcourſing of Riches, he ſaid, That if he had great Summs at the end of the year, he thought it would do him harm; and it was like having a great many diſhes brought in when men were riſing from the Table.

All the care he took of his Perſon, was only to avoid ſlovenlyneſs, neither was he more curious in his attendance; for both at the Court and in the Camp, you might often come into his Chamber, without meeting with any Servant.

He commonly ſpoke with a high clear and ſtrong voice; but when he delivered a ſecret, tho' it was but of ſmall conſequence, he never thought he ſpoke low enough; and the opinion of his ſuſpicion was ſo well founded, that he ſeldom had his own mind eaſed by any confidence which he put in others.

In affairs of Conſequence, whether eaſie or difficult, he always attended with vigilance; never preſuming nor deſpairing of ſucceſs; always prompter to take unneceſſary precautions than to forget thoſe which were neceſſary: All his deſignes were managed with great prudence and foreſight, but when he was conſtrained to leave matters to fortune, he did it with all the Boldneſs and Gayety of a young man.

Thoſe who ſerved under him ſcarce ever knew his deſignes, till he was ready to put them in execution; he was the ableſt General in the world to ruine an enemies Army with Forces inferior to theirs: and to end a Campaign Succesfully, the event whereof was looked upon to be very dangerous and doubtful.

At the beginning of a Battle you could obſerve nothing extraordinary in him; but as the Action began to grow hotter and more difficult, he was obſerved to raiſe himſelf, and provide for every thing, with a freedom of Mind and a firmneſs of Courage; which few men are capable of in dangers of a long continuance.

After he had won the Battle of the *Downes*, and taken *Dunkirk*, Cardinal *Mazarine* deſired earneſtly to have the glory of theſe two great ſucceſſes attributed to himſelf; he deſired that the Viſcount *de Turrenne* would

would write a Letter to him, wherein he ſhould own that they were due only to himſelf; and that he had layd the project in his Cloſet, and that they had only executed his orders: The Cardinal was very fond of this matter, and committed the management of it to the Count *de Moret*, a Gentleman of good parts, and his Favourite, and an intimate friend of the Viſcount *de Turrene*. The Court was then at *Calais*, and the Viſcount about *Dunkirk*; the Count waited upon him two or three times under other pretences, but indeed only upon this buſineſs; the Count did all he could to divert the Cardinal from theſe thoughts, ſo little agreeable to his Station and Profeſſion; and forgot nothing which he thought might perſwade the Viſcount *de Turenne* to ſet a price upon the favour which he deſired of him; but in the end he found himſelf obliged to declare plainly to the Viſcount, that he had reaſon to fear that an abſolute denyal, would have conſequences very prejudicial to his fortunes; ſince at the very firſt difficulty, the Cardinal had ſhown a great animoſity againſt him.

The Viſcount *de Turenne*, who had not been moved by hope, was not ſo by fear, he anſwered ſtill after the ſame manner; That the Cardinal might inſert in Hiſtory what-ever might flatter moſt his ambition, and make poſterity believe that he was a great Captain: But as for himſelf, he would never be reproached, as the Author of a thing ſo contrary to his Honour, and the Truth.

He was much delighted with men of Learning and good ſenſe, but had no regard for thoſe who were Wits by profeſſion; they were never comprized in his Liberalities, and he had no great ſhare in their works.

He could not endure for a moment, bare-fac'd flattery, but when it was concealed under the appearance of true friendſhip, and natural and proper occaſions of praiſing him were choſen; he was then eaſily drawn in by it, and a flatterer might then inſinuate himſelf into his mind, and eſtabliſh himſelf in his confidence, and make his advantage of it: He was of the Reformed Religion by birth, and made profeſſion of it above fifty years; then he began to be dubious, and principally by the means of Cardinal *de Bouillon* his Nephew he was reconciled to the Romiſh Church, and made his abjuration before the Arch-Biſhop of *Paris*. He continued ever after in the Romiſh perſwaſion, and by his will gave gratuities to thoſe that ſhould follow his example: To the Poor of *Sedan* which ſhould be converted to, and embrace the Roman Religion, he gave the Summ of *Fifty Thouſand* Livers; and to the Poor which ſhould be Converted at *Negrepelice*, *Twenty Thouſand* Livers, and the like Sum at *Caſtillion*.

The love and veneration of the Souldiers towards him always encreaſed, eſpecially in the laſt Campaigns, and was principally viſible amongſt other occaſions the year before his death, when he made that extraordinary March in the middle of Winter, to go and attacque his enemies at the paſſage of the River *Ill* in *Germany*.

All the Campaignes ſince the War in *Holland*, contain Prodigies of his Valour and Capacity, which will furniſh matter for many volumes, if one would enter into particulars; but after having eſcaped infinite dangers during the ſpace of *Fifty* years that he bore Arms, his Army and that of the enemies,

enemies, being in ſight of each other at *Sulsback* in *Germany*, he was taken off by a Cannon-ſhot, diſcharged almoſt at random in a place where a Battery was raiſing: He received the ſhot in the middle of his body, at the inſtant that he ſtopt his Horſe to ſpeak to *Saint Hillary* Lieutenant of the Artillery.

Saint Hillary had his arm taken off with the ſame ſhot, and uttered a ſaying worth remembring, to two of his Sons who wept to ſee him in that condition: *Ah my Children! it is not for me that you ought to weep, it is for this great man* (*ſhewing them the Viſcount* de Turenne) *and for the irreparable loſs* France *has ſuſtained thereby.*

Perhaps an example never was ſeen of ſo great and general an affliction, and I believe that of the Romans after the death of *Marcellus*, *Germanicus*, and *Titus*; can not be compared to that of *France* upon this occaſion. It is impoſſible to expreſs the ſorrow of the Souldiers.

Thoſe who Commanded the Army, made a halt for to hold a Council Concerning the Poſt they were to take, the Souldiers being vexed to ſee how long they were about reſolving, began to ſay openly and aloud, *See how they are perplexed, they need but looſen Pye* (that was the name of a horſe well known by all the Army whereon the Viſcount *de Turenne* uſed commonly to ride) *where the poor horſe ſtops that's the place where we ſhould Incamp.*

The Nobles and people even in diſtant Provinces where he had never been ſeen, were for ſome dayes unable to diſcourſe of any thing elſe but their great Loſs: Many Lamented him that had never ſeen him, ſome exited by the memory of his paſt Actions; others by the conſideration of thoſe he might have rendred, and all generally ſenſible of the great misfortune, whereby he loſt his Life.

At *Paris* and in the neighbouring Provinces, and particularly in the Frontiers of thoſe Countries which were the ſeat of War; their Regret was the greater and more tender becauſe he was the better known, and they were accuſtomed to ſee him come back every Winter laden with new Glory; in fine, his loſs ſeemed like the defeat of a whole Army, wherein every one had loſt his ſubſtance, or his beſt friend.

He began to make a figure in the Reign of *Lewis* the 13th. and ſuſtained by his Merit and Quality, he paſſed over the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Reichelieu* without any notable favour or diſgrace.

Under the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Mazarine* he underwent divers changes of fortune, but he had always reaſon to praiſe her during the laſt *Twenty* years of his life. He eſteemed himſelf the more happy in ſerving under a King, in whom he found all the quailties deſirable in a Maſter, and who treated him with ſo much Confidence and Eſteem, that he had reaſon to love him as a friend.

It is not known certainly upon what deſign he made ſo long and difficult a march to poſſeſs himſelf of the poſt where he was ſlayn; it is only known, that ſome few hours before his death, he promiſed himſelf great advantages from this laſt Battle of his life; and he was ſo far from preſumption, that when he began to hope well of his enterpriſes, his hopes might be taken for an entire certainty of a happy ſucceſs; inſomuch, that

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if they who were at the head of the Army, after his death have merited Praise and Reward; the Viscount *de Turrene* being no less their Superiour by his great ablities in War, than by his quality of General, there is reason to believe that the success of a design which he had so long Contrived, would have been much Greater and more Glorious.

Extracts of Divers LETTERS:

Translated out of the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Scavans.*

THE Works of St. *Hillary* Bishop of *Poictiers*, of the Fathers of St. *Germains des Pres*, begin to be sold here (at *Paris*) by *Muguet*. The *Origines* of the French Tongue, by Mr. *Menage*, and by Mr. *Caseneuve*; (in Folio) will be published in a few days. There have appeared almost at the same time, Two Histories of Cardinal *Ximenes*: The one by the Abbot of *Marsotier*; printed at *Tholouse*, in 8*vo.* & the other by the Bishop of *Nimes*, (sold by *Anisson*) in 4*to.* (the last is reprinted at *Amsterdam* by *Henry Desbordes.*) There have been many Books lately printed by *Anisson*, of some whereof, these are the Titles; *Libri Salomonis, Proverbia Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, Sapientiæ, Ecclesiasticus, cum notis Jac. Ben. Bossuet Episcopi Meldensis, accesserunt ejusdem supplenda in Psalmos. Parisiis.* The others are upon different Subjects, as, *Veterum Mathematicorum, Athenæi, Apollodori, Philonis, Dionis, Heronis, & aliorum Opera Græcè & Latinè, pleraque nunc primum edita; ex manuscriptis codicibus Bibliothecæ Regiæ, uno Vol. in folio.* And this also, *Recueil d' Observations faites en plusieurs Voyages par Ordre de sa M. pour perfectionner l' Astronomie & la Geographie; avec divers Traitez Astronomiques, par Mrs. de l' Academie R. des Sciences, 1 Vol. in Fol.* This comes from the King's Printing-House, as this also, *Divers Ouvrages de Mathematique & de Physique, par Mrs. de l' Academie R. des Sciences, 1 Vol. in Fol.* There is another Volume in Folio, *Description des Plantes de l' Amerique, avec leurs Figures au naturel*; by the R. F. *Charles Plumier Rel. Minime.* The three vacant places in the *Fr. Academie*, by the Death of the *Comte de Bussi Rabutin*, of the *Abbot de la Chambre*, and of the *Abbot Tallement*, have been filled by *Mr.* the *Abbot Bignon*, *Mr. de la Loubere*, and *Mr. de la Bruyere*; the last hath gained much Reputation by his Book, *Des Caracteres des mœurs de ce siecle.* He is engaged in a great Quarrel with *Mr. Devizé*, for having said in his Book, *That the Mercury* Galant *is nothing worth*; Mr. *Devizé* hath Answered him vigorously.

There hath appearred here in *Germany*, a Book in 8*vo. Jani Nicii Eritbræi Pinacotheca imaginum illustrium doctrinâ & ingenii laude virorum qui autore superstite diem obierunt:* It contains above 150 *Italian* Authors. *Mr. d' Hinkelman*, who prepares an Edition of the *Alcoran*, is going to publish some Works of *Photius*, which have not yet seen the Light: He hath lately Confuted the Errours of a Shooe-maker of *Gorliz*, named *Boemius*; who pretended that all things were made and created of the Essence of God, which bears this Title, *Detectio Fundamenti Boemiani. Mr. Thomasius* Professor at *Hall*, hath a design to write an Ecclesiastical History, an Essay whereof hath

hath already appeared, Entituled, *Historiâ Sapientiæ & Stultitiæ.* There is printed at *Leipsick, Fac. Dan. Ernesti V. D. M. Apanthismata, sive selectiores flores Philologico-Historico-Theologico-Morales, in 4 Libros divisi* 1693. *in* 8vo. The Work of *Mr. Imhof. Notitia S. Rom. Germanici Imperii Procerum* hath been reprinted the third time, *Tubingæ* in Folio. Mr. *Ludolf* who published in 1681. a History of *Ethiopia*, and in 1691. a Commentary upon the same History, hath published *Appendix ad Historiam Æthiopicam, illiusque Commentarium, ex nova relatione de hodierno Habissiniæ statu concinnata; Francofurti apud Zunnerum*, 1693. *in Fol.* His Preface begins with the Praises of the *Dutch East-India*-Company, from whom he acknowledgeth to have received great help in clearing the History of *Abyssinia. Mr. Carpzovius* hath taken care of the *Posthumus* Works of the late *Mr. Rappolus*; and they appeared under this Title, *Frederici Rappolti Doctoris & Professoris Theologiæ in Academiâ Lipsiensi Opera Theologica, Exegetica, Didactica, Polemica, in 2 Tomos distributa; Lipsiæ* 1693. *in 4to.* A Clergy-man amongst the *Lutherans*, called *Mr. Francelius*, hath published one in *4to.* Entituled, *De Originibus Linguæ Sorabicæ, seu Slavicæ*, 1693.

Mr. de Chaumont, the Antient Bishop of *Axas*, hath published two Volumes in 12. *Reflexions sur le Christianisme enseigné dans l' Eglise Rom.* 1693. His Design in general, is to prove by Motives of Credibility, That there is One GOD against the Atheists, and Christianity against the Deists, and every thing that hath assumed the Name of Religion: And finally, the Obligation according to his Principles, to learn Christianity only in the Church of *Rome*: As to his Arguments for the Existence of a God, though he be of Opinion, That there are but few Atheists in good earnest; he is of Opinion, That a Matter of this Nature is to be treated upon with all the freedom and extent imaginable; and he reserves it for a Treatise made on purpose, contenting himself in this, to lay down only the general Principles, which serve for a Foundation to the rest of his System: For the Confutation of False Religions, instead of shewing all the ridiculous Fopperies contained in them, he only opposeth this Enquiry, Whether they have any certain Character of having been taught by GOD. Afterward he shews, that the Law of Nature and that of *Moses* have this Character, That they have been taught by GOD. He adds curious Proofs drawn from the knowledge of the places where the most famous Miracles of *Moses* have been wrought, and a lively Portraicture of the Misfortunes of the *Jews*, since their attempt upon the Person of the *Messias*. After that, coming to Christianity in particular, he shews the Truth thereof by Miracles, which bear the Character of the Finger of God. From whence he draweth this Consequence, that we are not obliged to prove the Articles of Faith by Reason, since it is sufficient that God hath spoken them. He saith nevertheless, that the Church is not reduced to that Answer only; and that if Faith be above Reason, it doth not destroy it. Therefore he makes a digression upon the Trinity and Incarnation, and concludes, That if Reason furnisheth such excellent reflections, in regard of the most difficult Articles of Faith, every unprejudiced person will have reason to say, That it is incomparably more easie to receive satisfaction upon the other Articles which carry their own

proof along with them. In his fifth Book he ſelects the contradictions and impoſſibilities upon which the Deiſts rely. We find therein new Syſtems, or the old ones carryed on further than they were before. In particular concerning the Genealogy of Jeſus Chriſt, there are two different Charts which contain different Reconciliations.

The ſecond Edition of the *Menagiana* is about to appear, and it is ſaid that it will be quite another thing than the former. We ſhall ſee quickly the *Anti-menagiana* of Mr. *Bernier*. It is ſaid, that Mr. *Perault* is making the Elogy of Mr. *Peliſſon*. The *F. Plumier* hath finiſhed his 2d. volume of Plants, and will give us afterwards a Treatiſe of *Shells*. A Phyſician of *Rochelle* named Mr. *Venete*, who is the Author of *Tableau de la Amour conſideré dans l'etat du mariage*, is about to give us a diſſertation of *Tritons* and *Syrenes*. I am aſſured, that all the Copies of the Hiſtory of the King by Medals, by *F. Menetrier*, have been ſeized, who is about to publiſh ſpeedily a Hiſtory of the City of *Lyon*. *Mr. de Tournefort* hath printed his *Elemens de Botanique*, or an Eaſie Method to know Plants by certain Principles. *Mr. de Cordemoi* promiſeth in a little time the third Volume of his Hiſtory of *France*. The *Fr. Neptune* will be a magnificent Collection of the Maps of the greateſt part of the World. The *Benedictin* Fathers have publiſhed *S. Euſebii Hieronimi Stridonienſis Presbyteri Divina Bibliotheca antehac inedita, complectens ejuſdem Tranſlationes Latinas V. & N. Teſtamenti cum ex Hebraïs tum e Græcis Fontibus derivatas; innumera quoque Scholia Marginalia antiquiſſimi anonymi Scriptoris Hebraas Voces preſſius exprimentes; prodiit nunc e veuſtiſſimis Manuſcriptis Codicibus Gallicanis, Vaticanis*, &c. *Studio ac labore D. Johannis Martianay, & D. Ant. Pouget. Mon. Ord. S. Ben. è Cong. S. Maur.* I have not yet ſeen the Book of *Mr. Baluze, Vitæ Paparum Avenionenſium*; that is to ſay, The Hiſtory of the Popes who have held their See in *France*, from the year 1305, to the year 1395. Writ by Contemporary Authors, ſome whereof have not yet appeared, and others have been reviewed by the moſt Correct Manuſcripts. *Mr. Baluze* hath added Notes which ſerve very much to illuſtrate the Hiſtory of thoſe Times. This is the Firſt Tome; the Second will contain the Ancient Acts of thoſe Times which have not yet ſeen the Light: As the Letters of the Popes, of the Kings of *France*, the Voyage of *Urbain* the Fifth into *Italy*, &c.

I could not yet meet with *Moſes vindicatus*, it is ſaid it will be ſuppreſſed, becauſe it hath very ill defended *Moſes*, and inſtead of ſolving the doubts, it increaſeth them.

There are Printed here (*London*) ſome poſthumous works of Mr. *Boyle*, as *General heads for the natural Hiſtory*, London; *for* John Taylor 1692. 12. Theſe are general remarks upon the natural Hiſtory of *Turkey*, *Ægypt*, *Guinea*, *Surat*, *Perſia*, &c. for the uſe of Travellers. He obſerveth every thing that is of conſequence in regard to the temperature of the Air, and the nature of the Soil, for *Minerals*, *Animals*, &c. There hath been alſo publiſhed his *General Hiſtory of the Air*. London, *for* Awnſham *and* J. Churchil, 1692. *in* 4to.

There have been printed ſome pieces of venerable *Bede*, under this Title. *Bedæ venerabilis opera quædam Theologica nunc primum edita, nec non Hiſtorica antea ſemel edita. Acceſſerunt Egberti Archiepiſcopi Eboracenſis Dialogus*

logus de Eccleſiaſticâ inſtitutione, & Aldhelmi Epiſcopi Scireburnenſis liber de virginitate, ex codice antiquiſſimo emendatus, Londini; *apud* Rob. Clavel, 1693. in 4to.

There is ſold alſo one in Folio which bares this Title, *Leonardi Plukenetij Phythographiæ pars* 3. Londini, 1692. It is a Treatiſe of Plants. The two firſt parts appeared in 1691. I have ſeen a *Third* Letter concerning Toleration by the ſame Author who hath given the two former. *A* Third *Letter for Toleration, to the Author of the* Third *Letter concerning Toleration.* London 1692. *in* 4to.

They declare here (at *Paris*) daily new Hereticks; not to ſpeak of Mr. *du Pin*, who hath received his ſentence: Mr. *Baillet* is at preſent upon the ſtage; for his Book, *De la devotion à la S. Vierge, et du culte qui lui eſt dû.* There hath already appeared two Cenſures againſt him: The one is, *Une lettre a Mr. Hideux D. en Theologie. Curé des S. S. Innocens, ſur l' approbation qu' il a donnée au noveau livre de la devotion à la S. Vierge.* The other is, *Memoire addreſſé à la Sorbonne, touchant le livre, Entitulé, Devotion à la S. V.* The *Mrs. de Port Royal*, are attacqued alſo from another ſide, to wit, by an Accuſation under this Title, *Le Neſtorianiſm renaiſſant denoncé à la Sorbonne.* It is ſaid, that this Book is elegantly writ, and that at the ſame time that it moſt preſſeth its adverſaries, it diſcovers a moderation not very frequent with devotos. It is writ againſt the tranſlation of the Homilies of S. *Chryſoſtom*, upon the Epiſtles of St *Paul*: He accuſeth the Tranſlators of Six *Neſtorian* or *Socinian* Propoſitions. The *Firſt* is, St. *Paul* confounds the *Jews*, by ſhewing them, That there are two Perſons in Jeſus Chriſt, God and Man. By the *Fourth*, they are accuſed to have called their Doctrine Hereſie, who attribute to the Son, that which is proper to the Father. That which gives the moſt weight to the accuſation againſt the *Mrs. de Port Royal*, is, *Firſt*, That theſe Six Propoſitions are not found in the Text of St. *Chryſoſtom*: The *Second* is, That theſe Tranſlators are accuſed to have altered in many places the Catholick Truths that are oppoſite to theſe Errors. As for Example; They are accuſed to have ſuppreſſed theſe words of the Father, upon the Second Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Philippians*; *Seeing it is ſo, let us not confound, let us not divide. There is in him but one God, one Chriſt, one Son of God; and when I ſay one, I mean it of Union, and not of confuſion or mixture; there is in him a Union, and not a change of nature.* They have produced *Seven* or *Eight* Examples, and offered to produce more. We expect with impatience to ſee how theſe *Mrs.* will clear themſelves of ſo home a charge, and what the *Sorbonne* to whom it is addreſſed, will decree in an affair of this importance.

I have little news of Learning to acquaint you with from theſe parts. (*Geneva*) There are printed at *Lauſanne*, Three Latin Diſſertations of Mr. *Conſtant*: The one concerning *Loth*'s wife, the other concerning the *Burning Buſh*; and the *Third* concerning the *Braſen Serpent.* The title of a Book that comes from *Italy*, is, *Bibliotheca Romana, ſeu Romanorum Scriptorum centuriæ; autore Proſpero Mandoſio, nobili Romano. Vol.* 2. *Romæ* 1692. *in* 4to. He who makes the Journal of *Parma*, is called *Pietro Manzani*: He writes it in Latin. The *Italian* Journal of *Modena* is compoſed

by

by *Ten* Persons, who have associated themselves together for that purpose. It is said that *Philippo Bonanni* is compoſing an uninterupted Collection of Medals of the Popes. The *F. Molinet* in his Hiſtory of Popes from *Martin* the *Fifth*, to *Innocent* the *Eleaventh*, publiſhed at *Paris* in 1679, hath already produced ſome.

You have ſeen by the Preface which Mr. *Boileau* hath put before the *Ode* which he hath made in imitation of *Pindar*, that he is angry in good earneſt againſt Mr. *Perrault*, who dares compare the moderns to the antients. This hath kindled a kind of civil war upon *Parnaſſus*. Mr. *de Fontenelles* alſo is engaged in it, who furniſheth both reaſons and an example againſt the antients.

The Parallel between Mr. *Corneille* and Mr. *de Racine* is attributed to him, where the latter is placed much beneath the former. See for example two characters both of the one and the other, which are obſerved there. 1. When a mans mind is Noble he would imitate the Heroes of *Corneille*; and when a mans mind is little, he is well pleaſed that the Heroes of *Racine* are like himſelf. 2. We receive from the one a deſire of being virtuous, and from the other the pleaſure of finding the like in our own weakneſs.

You may eaſily ſee the Hiſtory of Cardinal *Ximenez* by Mr. *Flechier*. But the ſame Hiſtory by Mr. *Marſotier* perhaps cannot be procured ſo eaſily, being Printed in our parts (*Toulouze*) which are a great way diſtant from you. For this reaſon I will give you an *Idea* of it. Although it be not eaſie to perform according to the dignity of the ſubject, the Author doth in no wiſe fail of it. The Language thereof is pure, the Story lively and natural; the Reflections fine, and the Intrigues very coherent and clear. The excellent qualities and great ſucceſſes of Cardinal *Ximenez* are expreſſed to the life; but without concealing his faults, and making of *Panegyricks*. If ever his Canonization be attempted as the Order of St. *Francis* whereof he was, have often flattered themſelves. This Hiſtory will not contribute much towards it, yet I do not repreſent this work to you as perfect, it hath its defects. 1. The Author ties himſelf up too much to a publick capacity, and doth not mention enough private and domeſtick actions. It contains only the Hiſtory of a Stateſ-man. 2. Although the War with the *Moors* be a digreſſion that is very entertaining, yet the relation thereof is too long, and the Cardinal *Ximenez* was not concerned enough in it to cauſe him to inſiſt ſo much upon it: According to the precept, *Ambitioſa ſunt reſcindenda ornamenta*. This is an Eſſay or Trial of this Author: We may expect more of theſe kind of writings from him. I believe him to be the Author of a Book, *De l'origine des dimes, & des Benefices*, which appeared in 1688. wherein he uſeth a great deal of liberty in ſpeaking of the Court of *Rome*, and the Eccleſiaſticks. This makes me have a good opinion of the Hiſtory of the Inquiſition which its ſaid he is compoſing.

FINIS.